

L Group Research, Inc.

(Sec 4 - SPECIAL #12)
12/13/62

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE

1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

Washington, 1962

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| I. Background of the "Right-to-Work" Movement | 1 |
| II. Founders of NRTWC | 3 |
| III. Some Forerunners of NRTWC | 5 |
| IV. The NRTWC, 1955-61 | 6 |
| V. Officers and Staff | 9 |
| VI. Former Directors | 12 |
| VII. NRTWC Operations: Propaganda | 13 |
| Publications | 14 |
| Newsletter | 15 |
| Opinion Research Corp. Survey | 15 |
| Films | 15 |
| Radio Series | 17 |
| VIII. National Council for Labor's Rank and File | 17 |
| IX. NRTWC Operations: Direct Action | 19 |
| X. Size and Finances | 21 |
| XI. Ties to Other Groups: Employer | 23 |
| Chamber of Commerce | 23 |
| National Association of Manufacturers | 27 |
| American Farm Bureau Federation | 29 |
| XII. Ties to Other Groups: Right-Wing Political | 30 |
| John Birch Society | 31 |
| Other Right-Wing groups: | 32 |
| American Enterprise Assoc.; Arkansas Free Enterprise | |
| Assoc.; Christian Crusade; Christian Freedom Foundation; | |
| Christianity Today; Committee for Constitutional Govern- | |
| ment; Council for Individual Freedom; Kent and Phoebe | |
| Courtney; DeMille Foundation for Political Freedom; Heritage | |
| Foundation; Human Events; Labor Policy Assoc.; Manion | |
| Forum; Nat'l Labor-Management Foundation; Nat'l Right to | |
| Work Federation; Young Americans for Freedom. | |

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS LIBRARY

MAR 25 1963

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY

Facts About: THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE
 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
 Washington 6, D. C.

With major references to other leading groups on the "right-to-work" front.

Background of the "Right-to-Work" Movement

The current so-called "right-to-work" movement is merely the latest phase in the long-standing opposition of employer groups to such forms of union security as the closed shop and the union shop. In the period of the 1920's and '30's the preferred public relations title for the open shop movement was "American Plan." Since the 1940's it has been "right-to-work." Just who originated the latter term is not certain.

At least as early as 1935, the Automobile Manufacturers Association was stating, as part of its opposition to the Wagner Act, that "men have an inalienable right to work, free from coercion" (N. Y. Times 4/7/35 quoted in John G. Shott, How "Right-to-Work" Laws Are Passed, Public Affairs Institute, 1956) The National Association of Manufacturers referred in 1939 to "the right to work or not to work" (N. Y. Times 12/3/39 quoted in ibid.) Possibly the first to use the term as a full-blown slogan was Vance Muse, a professional right-winger whose activities dated back to before the First World War. In 1936, Muse was an organizer of the Christian American Association, Inc., an anti-Negro, anti-Semitic group which had as an affiliate something called "the Right to Work Union." (See 1945 membership card reproduced in John Roy Carlson's The Plotters, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1946, p. 267)

In Arkansas and Florida—the first two states to adopt "right-to-work" laws—the Christian American Association and a related group called the Veterans Industrial Association both played important roles. As noted, a prime mover in the first group was Vance Muse, of Houston, Texas. Muse was a protege of John Henry Kirby, oil and lumberman and one-time President of the N. A. M. Among the Kirby-Muse organizational enterprises were the American Taxpayers' League, the National Council of State Legislators, the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, and the Southern Tariff Association. While their funds frequently came from such big names as John J. Raskob, Alfred P. Sloan and the duPonts (all prominent anti-Roosevelt Liberty Leaguers), Kirby and Muse were not above joining forces with the dean of American anti-Semites, Gerald L. K. Smith. (See George Wolfskill, The Revolt of the Conservatives, Houghton-Mifflin, 1962, pp. 175-8, 234 and 240-2)

The Veterans Industrial Association was founded in 1946 by an Arkansan, James T. Karam. It appears to have worked closely with the Vance Muse organization in the early period. (See Arkansas Gazette 6/16/46) The Karam group operated as a strike-breaking organization, among other things, and talked about "The Communist-dominated labor unions" and "'foreign' labor bosses." (Advertisement in Arkansas Gazette 3/3/46 and materials reproduced in Carlson, op. cit., p. 263. See also N. Y. Times 8/26/46) It had the support and cooperation of George S. Benson, President of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, an outstanding figure in today's right wing. (See advertisement in Arkansas Gazette 2/21/46 and Carlson, op. cit., pp. 265-6)

The Christian American Association was credited with being a major sponsor of the successful "right-to-work" campaign in Arkansas in 1944. (N. Y. Times 11/8/44 and St. Louis Post-Dispatch 10/17/46) The Veterans Industrial Association organized a branch in Florida to assist in the campaign to enforce the new law there, coming at the specific invitation of the state's Attorney-General, who had been a leading proponent of the 1944 adoption of a "right-to-work" amendment in Florida. (Miami Herald 5/24/46 cited in Shott, op. cit.) Both organizations have since disappeared from the scene.

Two years after Florida and Arkansas had adopted "right-to-work" amendments, three more states followed suit: Arizona, Nebraska and South Dakota. The following year, which also saw the passage of Taft-Hartley with its Section 14(b) invitation to state action in the field of union security, no less than six more states adopted such laws: Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In 1948, North Dakota was belatedly added to the list. A three-year gap intervened before the next state (Nevada in 1952) adopted a "right-to-work" law. Alabama did so in 1953 and in 1954 Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina put such a law on the books (Louisiana narrowed its act to cover only agricultural workers in 1956). Thus, as the National Right to Work Committee was being formally established, 17 states — 11 southern and 6 others — already had "right-to-work" laws.

Formation of the National Right to Work Committee was announced in January, 1955 by E. S. Dillard, then President of the Old Dominion Box Co. of Charlotte, N. C., and Fred A. Hartley, Jr., former Congressman (R-N. J.) and co-sponsor of the Taft-Hartley Act. The purpose of the group was a "national educational and information program" against "compulsory unionism," by which was meant the union shop. (See Wall Street Journal 1/31/55)

The announcement was not unexpected. Republican Secretary of Labor James Mitchell's condemnation a month earlier of "moves by employer groups to form a national organization dedicated to the adoption of

'right-to-work' laws all over the country" had brought a prompt statement by the White House that the Secretary was speaking only for himself. (See N. Y. Times 12/8/54 and 12/9/54)

Founders of NRTWC

At least six men were in the group which founded the National Right to Work Committee in 1955. They were:

1. Edwin S. Dillard - As indicated, he was then President of the Old Dominion Box Co. in Charlotte, N. C. Since 1959 he has been listed as President of the Old Dominion Box Co. of Lynchburg, Va. Dillard is an endorser of the John Birch Society (1962 brochure) and of the Manion Forum (lists of 1957-62). He served as NRTWC's first Chairman of the Board and has been a Director throughout. Currently he is on the Advisory Committee to the Executive Committee. (NRTWC Newsletter 1/31/62)
2. Fred A. Hartley - Famous as co-sponsor of the Taft-Hartley Act, the New Jersey Congressman decided not to run for re-election in 1948. From February 16, 1949 until June 13, 1950 he served as President of the Tool Owners Union, an organization founded by Allen W. Rucker of Massachusetts and representing "investors, farmers, small businessmen and those who live on savings or income from property." The Tool Owners Union had been organized in 1946 (see ad in N. Y. Times 5/20/46) and among those involved with it was Alfred P. Haake, an active figure on the right-wing from the days of the Liberty League until his death in 1961. It was during this period that Hartley was also listed, by the New York Post (6/30/49) as a sponsor of a proposed political action conference being organized by Merwin K. Hart, long-time anti-Semite and later a John Birch Society chapter leader. (On the 1949 conference see Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday and Co., 1950, pp. 70-71.) Hartley quit the Tool Owners Union, he said at the time, in order to form a "right-wing" political organization. (N. Y. Times 6/14/50) There is no evidence that the organization he had in mind was ever formally organized and by late 1952, Hartley was saying that he had left the Tool Owners Union because he was "dissatisfied" with it. (N. Y. Times 11/23/52, Magazine Section)

In view both of the timing and of Hartley's association with former Senator Hawkes, there may be some connection between the "right-wing" group to which Hartley referred in mid-1950 and the short-lived National Committee for Political Realignment organized the following year by Hawkes, together with Senators Owen Brewster and Karl Mundt and former Farm Bureau Federation head Edward O'Neal. (See Congressional Record 8/4/58, pp 14556 ff., for reference to this group.)

An ardent Taft supporter in 1952, Hartley's work with the National Right to Work Committee followed an active but unsuccessful effort in 1954 to defeat Republican Senator Clifford Case (in spite of President Eisenhower's endorsement of Case). In this campaign Hartley had the support of the New Jersey chapter of Pro America and of a local group called the Committee for a Stronger New Jersey Republican Party. Also active in the work was former-Senator Albert W. Hawkes, who had been President of the Chamber of Commerce and Vice-President of the NAM and who was a contributor to For America in 1956 (Gore Subcommittee Report) and is more recently an endorser of the Manion Forum (4/2/62 listing). (See N. Y. Times 9/22/54 for Hawkes' participation in anti-Case movement.) A "write-in" campaign for Hartley in place of Case netted him less than half of one per cent of the total vote, but Hartley warned that his group "expected to be a potent force before the 1956 campaign." (N. Y. Times 12/18/54)

When the NRTWC was formed, Hartley was announced as its President. By late 1956 his title had changed to Chairman of the Advisory Board and Labor Consultant. By the end of 1958 his name had disappeared from the NRTWC letterhead and his formal connections with the Committee appear to have ended.

3. S. D. "Duke" Cadwallader - Cadwallader is a former B&O railroad conductor from Cincinnati. In addition to being one of NRTWC's founding directors (Newsletter 1/31/62), he served as Chairman of the Board in 1958 and has replaced William T. Harrison as President. Like other top officers of NRTWC he is frequently to be found in states where a "right-to-work" fight has been launched, organizing and advising the local group.

4. P. M. French - Formerly the President of Southern Manufacturing Co., a sport shirt and work clothes firm in Nashville, Tenn., French died of a heart attack while attending the 1960 meeting of the Committee. He had served as Chairman of the Board in 1959. (See NRTWC press release of 6/7/60 which identifies French as "a founder of the Committee.")

5. Robert A. Englander - Englander, formerly with the Gary Steel Products of Lynchburg, Virginia, is now President of the Dacam Corp. in the same city. He was listed by Congressman William Tuck as one of the "original members of the board of directors" of NRTWC. (Congressional Record 7/25/61) He was Chairman of the Board in 1961 and is currently a member of the Executive Committee. (1961 brochure and 1/31/62 Newsletter)

6. Nathan Thorington - Thorington is the head of a Richmond, Va. construction company and is another listed by Congressman Tuck as an original NRTWC member. He was Chairman of the Board in 1957 and is currently on the Advisory Committee to the Executive Committee. (2/19/58 letterhead and 1/31/62 Newsletter)

A seventh key figure in NRTWC's history has been William Taylor Harrison, a former clerk with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Harrison came to NRTWC in its first year and in 1956 became its Executive Secretary, probably replacing Hartley as the chief staff member. He remained in this post until 1959 when a major reorganization of NRTWC saw Harrison become President and Reed Larson become Executive Vice-President. In 1961 Harrison's title changed to "Chairman, Honorary Advisory Board" and then, in June of that year, it was announced that he had left the Committee to become Executive Vice-President of a right-wing organization in Indiana, the Council for Individual Freedom. The death of the founder of the Indiana group, Sherwood Ide, seems to have changed Harrison's plans as he now is listed as "Special Assistant to the President" of the National Labor-Management Foundation (of which more later). (See NRTWC Newsletter 8/18/61 and Partners, the official magazine of the Labor-Management Foundation, July-August, 1962) Prior to joining the NRTWC, Harrison had his own organization, the National Committee for Union Shop Abolition. (Preface, The Truth About Right-to-Work Laws by William T. Harrison; NRTWC, 1959)

Some Forerunners of NRTWC

As has been noted, the National Right to Work Committee is a relative newcomer on the open shop scene. While any attempt at a complete listing of the organizations which have been active in this campaign would be impossible, a few predecessors of NRTWC may be worth mentioning — aside from such general organizations as the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, all of which have been forces in the "right-to-work" movement.

The activities of the Christian American Association and the Veterans Industrial Association in Arkansas and Florida have been mentioned. The Christian American Association was still an active force in 1947 when Texas adopted a "right-to-work" law. (See Fred Meyers, "Right to Work" in Practice, a 1959 report to the Fund for the Republic.) Another local organization, the Arkansas Free Enterprise Association, attempted to form a nationwide "open shop union" under the name "Federated Workers of America." (Miami Citizen 12/5/46 cited in Shott, op. cit.) This is probably the group with which Norman Zolezzi of Indianapolis was connected and for which his paper, Labor Digest, became the official

publication at a later date. (The names shown on the 1959 masthead of Labor Digest were "Federated Unions of America" and "Right to Work Federation." See Labor Digest February, 1959 and reference in subsequent section to the National Right to Work Federation.)

In any event, the Arkansas Free Enterprise Association has continued and by the mid-1950's was a \$20,000 a year organization with an across-the-board right-wing philosophy. (See application file and annual informational returns filed with Internal Revenue Service) The Southern States Industrial Council is another regional rightist group long-standing which was particularly active on the open shop front in the 1940's. (See The Nation 5/16/42 cited in Shott, op. cit.)

More closely tied with NRTWC are two organizations which were represented at the 1948 hearings held by Hartley's House Education and Labor Committee on the question of "right to work." One witness was the famous movie director, Cecil B. DeMille. While DeMille appeared "at the invitation of the Chairman as an individual citizen, not representing any organization," he had already set up his DeMille Political Freedom Foundation to campaign for the open shop. This organization was active at the state level in the years prior to formation of NRTWC. (Cf story on its activities in California, Colorado, Oregon and Wyoming in 1953, Wisconsin CIO News 2/27/53) That it has continued to operate in the field is indicated by William T. Harrison's reference to it in 1959 as "a professional, well-financed research institution . . . /which/ functions as a support bulwark in state Right-to-Work campaigns." (The Truth About Right-to-Work Laws, published by NRTWC) DeMille's anti-union shop movie, "Showdown", is one of five which are utilized and distributed by NRTWC.

Another witness at the 1948 Hartley hearings who argued for Federal legislation to outlaw the union shop was Maurice Franks, head of the National Labor-Management Foundation. This organization was established by Franks in late 1947 and lists "voluntary union membership" as one of its "aims and objectives." Closely associated with Franks in this endeavor, prior to their deaths in 1961, were Alfred P. Haake and George Peck. As was noted earlier, Haake was involved in a wide variety of right-wing activities through the years. Peck and his public relations firm, George Peck Associates, were connected with an off-shoot of the old Committee for Constitutional Government, America's Future, Inc. As will be noted subsequently, there has been a substantial degree of interlocking between the NRTWC and the older Franks group,

The NRTWC, 1955-61

After little more than a year of existence, NRTWC announced in early 1956 an ambitious political action program, with claims that "right-to-

work" campaigns were "likely" in 10 states and "possible" in 5 more. These included such major industrial states as California, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. (N. Y. Times 4/2/56) The results for the year were not as impressive. Louisiana narrowed the application of its law to agricultural workers and Washington voters rejected a "right-to-work" initiative measure overwhelmingly. Only in Nevada, where a union-backed repeal proposal was rejected for the third time, could NRTWC find much comfort. (Ibid. 7/13/56, 11/7/56, and 11/11/56) The following year, the open shop forces did substantially better when the Indiana legislature adopted a "right-to-work" bill and the governor allowed it to become law. Since this was its first victory in an industrial state, NRTWC and its allies could afford to overlook their near-miss in Idaho the same year. (Ibid. 3/2/57 and 3/4/57)

In 1958 the tempo increased and the issue went on the ballot in a total of six states, including California and Ohio. But again, the election returns were disappointing to NRTWC. Not only did it succeed in only one state of the six, but the "right-to-work" issue appeared to have played a major role in a surprise Democratic sweep of California. In Kansas, where the open shop forces won, it was reported that they spent more money in doing so than was spent by all the Republican and Democratic state and congressional campaigns combined! (Ibid. 11/9/58) When the 1958 record was followed, in early 1959, by rejection of "right-to-work" proposals in both New Mexico and Vermont, the NRTWC appears to have decided on major reorganization. (See ibid. 2/19/59 and 4/1/59 for New Mexico and Vermont actions.)

William Harrison was shifted from Executive Secretary to President and Reed Larson was brought in as Executive Vice-President, the post which he still holds. Previously active in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Larson, for the four years prior to 1959, had been the Executive Vice-President of Kansans for the Right to Work, the successful state organization. Harrison was to continue with NRTWC, primarily in a speech making capacity, until 1961. The change in executive leadership was followed by formal incorporation of the NRTWC in September, 1960, under the laws of the District of Columbia. In addition to Harrison and Larson, Robert B. Byrnes of Washington, D. C. was an incorporator. (Files of D. C. Superintendent of Corporations)

Late in 1960, NRTWC continued its reorganization with the formation of an offshoot group aimed specifically at workers: the National Council for Labor's Rank and File, headed by Lafayette A. "Lafe" Hooser, NRTWC's Director of Employee Membership, and with a governing board made up of the employee members of NRTWC's Board of Directors. (NRTWC Newsletter 12/20/60) A former Baltimore and Ohio engineer, Hooser left the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to become one of the organizers of a dissident group called the United Railway Operating Crafts. Since

resignation from the Brotherhood constituted "failure to comply with the terms of the Union Shop Agreement" which was in effect, Hooser lost his job with the B&O. He became active in the successful Indiana "right-to-work" movement prior to joining the staff of the NRTWC. He is now described as being "on leave from the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, the only major rail line in the nation which has not signed a compulsory union membership agreement." (1961 NRTWC pamphlet and 1962 hand-out from Council for Labor's Rank and File)

In early 1961 the final stages of reorganization were completed. Hooser was given the title of Vice-President in addition to Director of Employee Membership and another Vice-Presidency was created, for the newly employed Director of Information, Glenn A. Green. Green came to NRTWC from the National Education Program of Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas where he had worked for 12 years as a chief assistant to the President George S. Benson. He is perhaps best known as the producer of the notorious film strip, "Communism on the Map," and its revised version, "Communist Encirclement." It is not surprising that this film strip closely parallels the opening material in the Blue Book of the John Birch Society since Green stated in early 1961 that he had been a member of that extremist group for nearly 1 1/2 years. (Newsweek 5/1/61) Prior to his long tenure at Harding College, Green had been the executive director of the state "right-to-work" organization in Arkansas. (NRTWC Newsletter 1/31/61) Before that—at least in early 1946—he was listed as Publicity Director for the state. (Arkansas Gazette 2/26/46)

Another major addition to the NRTWC staff in early 1961 was Warren Richardson, who came to the Committee from the National Lumber Manufacturers Association. Richardson had been a congressional liaison man for NLMA and was supposed to "Maintain constant contact with developments in Congress" for NRTWC. (1961 NRTWC pamphlet) He was given the title of Associate General Counsel. In early 1962, Richardson left NRTWC for private law practice. Charles W. Bailey, formerly with the Pittsburgh public relations firm of Ketchum Inc., came to NRTWC in mid-1961. He had been one of the incorporators of the Indiana Right-to-Work Committee. With NRTWC he was given the title of Secretary and Director of State Activities.

Miss Jane Bottorff, NRTWC's Office Manager, is another who came to the Committee from the Indiana state organization in 1961. Prior to that she is said to have worked in advertising and, for a while, in Indiana's Public Relations Department. (1961 NRTWC pamphlet) In addition to her job as office manager, Miss Bottorff has responsibility for women's activities. (Wall Street Journal 4/19/61)

With the reorganization apparently completed, Larson announced that NRTWC was "in better shape now than we've ever been before, in both members and finances," and plans were laid for campaigns in a number of states, including Maine, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania. (Ibid.) By the time NRTWC held its 2-day "seminar" for "right-to-work leaders" in Chicago, October 24-25th, it could claim attendance of "nearly 200" from 40 states. (Newsletter 11/3/61)

In 1962, in addition to efforts in various states, NRTWC made opposition to the union shop in the aerospace industry a priority item. This is virtually the only major industry in the United States in which union shop contracts are not accepted practice and a vote on the question was favored by a Presidential fact-finding committee. Failure of union Shop proponents to secure the necessary two-thirds majorities in elections at North American, General Dynamics and Ryan were hailed by NRTWC as a major victory. (See NRTWC Newsletter 8/31/62, 9/29/62, 10/31/62 and 11/26/62) While the "right-to-work" issue was not on the ballot in the November elections, NRTWC efforts in such states as Oklahoma, Maine, Pennsylvania, and Wyoming continue.

Officers and Staff

A complete roster of the 1962 officers and staff of NRTWC follows, with brief notes on those not previously mentioned. (Newsletter 1/31/62 and March, 1962 reference manual)

S. D. Cadwallader, President

Reed Larson, Executive Vice-President

Glenn Green, V. P. and Director of Information

Lafayette Hooser, V. P. and Director of Employee Membership

Charles Bailey, Secretary and Director of State Activities

John L. Kilcullen, Washington Counsel - Washington, D. C. attorney, member firm of McNutt, Dudley and Easterwood; member of NAM's new "Center for the Study of Union Power" (listed in Congressional Record 10/10/62)

Jane Bottorff, Office Manager

Theodore J. Hamilton, in charge of membership and contributions - member of Washington, D. C. public relations firm, Wilson E. Hamilton and Associates, Inc., which handles fund-raising for NRTWC; former Director of Public Relations for National Labor-Management Foundation (Partners, September, 1959)

John H. Wynn, Chairman of Board of Directors - Ft. Thomas, Ky., retired conductor for Chesapeake and Ohio Railway.

Kenneth C. Kellar, Vice-Chairman of Board of Directors and Chairman of Executive Committee - Lead, S. D. attorney, chief counsel for Homestake Mining Co.; former employer delegate to International Labor Organization (N. Y. Times 1/1/58); member of NAM's new "Center for the Study of Union Power." (Congressional Record 10/10/62)

Other members of the Executive Committee (all of whom are also Directors):

Granville Alley - Tampa, Florida, attorney

Robert A. Englander

Al B. Gibson - Gary, Inc., steelworker, employee of U. S. Steel's National Tube Division

Rev. Howard E. Mather - pastor of First United Presbyterian Church, Amenia, N. Y.; Director, Christian Freedom Foundation (Christian Economics 11/27/62)

Louis E. Weiss - former President of Spencer Safford Loadcraft, Inc. in Augusta, Kansas, now President of Midland Manufacturing Co. in Wichita; President of Kansans for the Right to Work

Members of the newly-created Advisory Committee to the Executive Committee (all of whom are also Directors):

Paul S. Russell, Chairman - Labor Relations Manager, Wolverine Tube Co., Decatur, Alabama; NRTWC Chairman of the Board in 1960

John R. Albaugh - Baltimore and Ohio engineer from Cumberland, Maryland

Whiteford S. Blakeney - Charlotte, N. C. attorney, member of firm of Blakeney and Alexander; also General Counsel of NRTWC

E. S. Dillard

Dr. Frederick C. Fowler - pastor of First Presbyterian Church of Duluth, Minn.; speaker at two 1962 meetings of Hargis's Christian Crusade; Director, Christian Freedom Foundation (Christian Economics 11/27/62); listed by Ralph Lord Roy as on advisory council of Protestants and Other Americans United (Apostles of Discord, Beacon Press, 1953, p. 150)

John H. Martin - Vice-President of Sonoco Products Co.,
Hartsville, S. C.

Nathan Thorington

Other members of Board of Directors:

William A. Barry - former member of the Machinists' union
from Wichita, Kansas; now listed as "member of the Building Service
Employees Union"

Howard F. Brown - Trenton, N. J. railway clerk; formerly a
Director, National Labor-Management Foundation (Partners, various issues,
1956-59)

Father John E. Coogan, S. J. - sociology professor at West
Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana; author of Voluntary Union-
ism for Free Americans (NRTWC, 1958), and NRTWC pamphlets "Pope
John XXIII and Voluntary Unionism" and "Pope John and the Right to
Work;" frequent contributor to Human Events.

Charles E. Daniel - head of Daniel Construction Co., Greenville,
S. C.; director of Chemical Bank New York Trust, Eastern Airlines,
Georgia-Pacific Corp., Prudential Insurance, Southern Bell Telephone
and Telegraph, and J. P. Stevens Co.; interim U. S. Senator 1954; member,
Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government
Society (3/62 letterhead)

Eugene B. Germany - Dallas, Texas oil and steel businessman,
senior partner of E. B. Germany and Sons, President of Lone Star Steel
Co.; fund raiser for Americans for Constitutional Action (1960 ACA pam-
phlet); endorser, Manion Forum and its offshoot Committee for Equal
Anti-Trust Protection (4/2/62 listing); sponsor of Texas appearances by
Nicholas Nyaradi, Ronald Reagan and others.

Clark Ghiselin- Secretary, Citrus Industrial Council, Lakeland,
Florida

Dr. Russell Humbert - President, DePauw University, Green-
castle, Indiana

Mrs. Juanita Lamuel - "assembly worker in an electronics
factory," Bethel, Kansas

Herbert D. Livingston - President, Wyoming Farm Bureau Fed-
eration; Vice-President, Wyoming Citizens for Right to Work

Cecil G. Mitchell - aircraft worker and ex-member of Machinists' union from Tujunga, California

Walter O'Bannon - head of a Tulsa, Oklahoma oilfield equipment firm; an incorporator of Oklahomans for the Right to Work

Charles O'Brien - Mooreland, Ind. employee of Perfect Circle Corporation and officer in plant's "independent" union

Oscar Romerill - Celina, Ohio member of Upholsterers' Union

Louis A. Rozzoni - President, California Farm Bureau Federation

Eldon F. Scoutten - Vice-President and director of industrial relations, Maytag Co., Newton, Iowa

Richard Snelling - President, Shelburne Industries, Inc., Burlington, Vt.; "businessman, member of the State Legislature, and a member of the Board of the Vermont Freedom of Association Committee" (NRTWC release 6/7/60)

Former Directors

Among others who have served in recent years on the NRTWC Board of Directors are the following: (From 1960 and 1961 NRTWC pamphlets)

Paul Brauer - pastor, First Lutheran Church, Boston, Mass.; Director, Christian Freedom Foundation (Christian Economics 11/27/62)

Eldon R. Carl - General Manager, California Association of Employers; former employee of NAM; Chairman, National Advisory Committee of Sherwood Ide's Council for Individual Freedom; former Industrial Relations Consultant for Partners, official magazine of the National Labor-Management Foundation (Dawn, 1961 Special Supplement and Partners, various issues, 1959-60)

Maurice Franks - founder and head of the National Labor-Management Foundation

Wilson E. Hamilton - retired head of public relations firm which handles NRTWC's fund-raising; former Director of Member Relations, National Labor-Management Foundation (1958 and 1959 issues, Partners); now lives at Delray Beach, Florida, a community "which boasts that it has erected walls against Americans of Jewish faith" (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, The Troublemakers, p. 261)

Leonard D. Keefer - Los Angeles grocery store owner; member, Advisory Board, Council for Individual Freedom; Chairman of California Citizens Committee for Voluntary Unionism (Dawn, 1961 Special Supplement)

Rev. Edward A. Keller, CSC - economics professor, University of Notre Dame; author, The Case for Right-to-Work Laws (Heritage Foundation, 1956); member, Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/16/62 letterhead); former long-time member, Board of Advisors, National Labor Management Foundation (Partners various issues 1949-60)

J. C. Laney - Birmingham, Alabama engineer with Louisville and Nashville Railroad; head of Railway Employees for Freedom; member, Advisory Board, Council for Individual Freedom (Dawn, 1961 Special Supplement); member, Board of Advisors, National Labor-Management Foundation (Partners, July-August 1962)

Donald R. Richberg - Charlottesville, Va. attorney; former official with National Recovery Administration in early 1930's; former member, National Policy Committee, For America (N. Y. Times 11/14/54); former Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education (1956-59 listings); author, Labor Union Monopoly (Henry Regnery, 1957)

August Sommerfeld - former member of Machinists' union and former organizer for the Sheetmetal Workers, North Hollywood, California (1961 NRTWC pamphlet); member, Board of Advisors, National Labor-Management Foundation (Partners, July-August, 1962)

Leo Wolman - emeritus professor, Columbia University; Trustee (since incorporation in 1946), Foundation for Economic Education; former chairman of NAM study group on "Monopoly Power Exercised by Labor Unions" (undated brochure of about 1957)

NRTWC Operations: Propaganda

Initially, NRTWC announced that its campaign would be carried out through "publications, newspaper advertisements, 'personal contacts,' and the like." (Wall Street Journal 1/31/55) While, as will be seen, direct action has come to play an increasingly important role in the Committee's work, the propaganda aspect has not been neglected. Thus, less than three months after its formation, NRTWC was announcing the results of a study which "showed" that 12 "right-to-work" states "generally have outstripped" the average in "economic gains." (N. Y. Times 4/13/55) This claim, based primarily on the use of percentage figures which are misleading because of the lower initial position held by "right-to-work" states, has been a

staple item in NRTWC's "educational" campaign. (Cf. 1960 pamphlet, "The Economics of Right to Work" and 1962 pamphlets, "The Proof of Right-to-Work Benefits" and "The Right to Work Fact Sheet" as well as new reference manual)

Other Pamphlets and Books - A variety of pamphlets have been published by NRTWC, ranging from "Americans Believe" —quoting numerous people in and out of context in support of the principle of "the right to work" — through "Pope John and the Right to Work" — in which Father Coogan claims to find papal authority on the NRTWC side — to "Union Sources Admit" — purporting to quote union leadership stating that "Anti-Right to Work Statements are Unfounded," "Violence and Corruption Follow Compulsion," and "Political Supremacy Is Their Objective" — and "The Voluntarism of Samuel Gompers" — which cites the founder of the AFL on the side of "voluntarism."

More lengthy publications by NRTWC have included:

America's Choice: Right to Work or Compulsory Unionism - a 24-page reference manual for use by NRTWC supporters (1962 - sells for 75¢ each or as little as 35¢ each in quantities of 100 or more)

The Anatomy of a Wildcat by Rev. Edward W. Greenfield (1957 - price unknown) - a local minister who led a "back-to-work" movement during a Princeton, Indiana, strike tells his own story. Greenfield is now pastor of the Church of Reflection located at Knott's Berry Farm in Buena Park, California, which is owned and operated by Walter Knott, head of the California Free Enterprise Association and Treasurer of the leading income-tax repeal group, the National Committee for Economic Freedom.

Check-Off by Jameson Campaigne (1960- 15¢ each or \$12 a hundred) - a reprint of 2 chapters from the book of that name (Regnery, 1961) by the editor of the Indianapolis Star, which includes such statements as "imposing their will on millions by coercion and propaganda, electing political candidates and influencing national policies, labor's baronies are the 'monopoly trusts' of the twentieth century" and "Reuther's power in the United States continues to be virtually unlimited by law".

The Legal and Moral Basis of Right to Work Laws by Jonathan C. Gibson (undated - single copies free) - 32-page reprint of a 1955 address before the American Bar Association by the General Counsel of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway, who is also a member of the Chamber of Commerce's Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism.

The Truth About Right-to-Work Laws by William T. Harrison (1959 - \$2.00 each, less in quantity) - published as an "answer" to the materials being put out by the AFL-CIO (N. Y. Times 7/5/59); the book goes beyond the

"right-to-work" issue to attack the Wagner Act — "For all practical purposes, the Wagner Act made the government itself an avowed partner in a campaign to unionize the entire United States" — and the Minimum Wage law — "In 1938, Congress adopted the Minimum Wage Act with its upward moving pay scales, and the unions' victory over the American employer was complete."

Right to Work National Newsletter - NRTWC publishes a regular newsletter (monthly plus special issues from time to time) generally of 4 pages, but occasionally including an additional 2-page supplement. Subscription price is \$4 a year. Billed as a "digest of right to work news," it covers primarily the activities of NRTWC and affiliated groups, though picking up other general anti-union items.

Opinion Research Corp. and its Public Opinion Survey - Another major item in the NRTWC "educational kit" is the report of Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N. J. on public attitudes toward unions and "right-to-work." The Opinion Research Corp. was founded in 1938 by Claude Robinson, a former associate of Dr. Gallup and a Trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education from its formation in 1946. (Exemption application of FEE at Internal Revenue Service and 1960-61 listing of FEE trustees.) Robinson and his firm did the poll work for Nixon in 1960. (N. Y. Times 10/13/60) In addition to special opinion research for business, ORC prepares and publishes a continuing Public Opinion Index "designed to anticipate and examine broad problems of concern to management." (1962 brochure) As early as 1958 ORC was reported to be doing work in four of the states in which the "right-to-work" issue was on the ballot. (5/14/59 memo from Reed Larson) In mid-1960, the NRTWC board meeting included a presentation by Gerald Skibbins of ORC reporting that their research showed that Americans "overwhelmingly endorse" the principle of "voluntary unionism." (Newsletter 6/22/60) Two years later, NRTWC commissioned ORC to expand their survey on this issue and in June of that year the results were unveiled by Skibbins at a special Congressional breakfast held by NRTWC. At the head table were Senator Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Representative Landrum (D-Ga.). The results of the ORC study were the subject of a special Newsletter and have been put into the form of a 30-minute colored slide-film kit for presentation, together with tape-recorded narration. The slide-film kit may be rented for \$5 or purchased for \$19.50. (Newsletter 7/27/62 and 8/29/62 and 1962 listing of NRTWC materials) ORC also is scheduled to do work for the NAM's new Center for the Study of Union Power. (Congressional Record, 10/10/62. See below.)

Other Films - Another colored slide-film presentation available from NRTWC is titled merely "Right to Work." It is 27-minutes in length and also comes with tape-recorded narration. It constitutes the Committee's

primary audio-visual item and is available in flipchart form for those not having a slide projector and tape recorder. (Prices: Film-kit rents for \$5 or sells for \$19.50; Flipchart sells for \$35; script only available for \$2.50)

NRTWC also handles five 16-mm movies as listed below in an excerpt reproduced from a 1962 brochure.

Motion Pictures For Television and Screen Showings—16mm

... AND WOMEN MUST WEEP

A minister's wife relates her personal account of a true story . . . one of the most dramatic and tragic events ever to occur in America. The abuse of power and raw violence come into view as union officials attempt to compel union members to participate in a wildcat strike. 24 minutes, sound and color.

Cost: \$125 per print. Rental \$5.00.

SHOWDOWN!

The late Hollywood showman Cecil B. DeMille presents a vital message to all Americans. "A personal experience with compulsory unionism woke me up with a terrible jolt to my responsibility—and your responsibility—to work for legislation which will protect men and women to whom the loss of a job might mean disaster," says Mr. DeMille in this powerful movie. 11 minutes, sound and color.

Cost: \$75 per print. Rental \$5.00.

YOU DECIDE!

A union member discusses Right to Work with members of his family. A fast-moving debate develops as they compare the

arguments for and against voluntary unionism. 14 minutes, sound and color.

Cost: \$100. Rental \$5.00.

A QUESTION OF LAW AND ORDER

A documentary film dealing with one of the most serious problems revealed by the McClellan Committee-- the problem of violence during labor-management disputes. 28 minutes, black and white, sound.

Cost: \$100. Rental \$5.00.

THE ANGRY SILENCE

A British-Lion feature-length movie which has won critics' acclaim all over America and Europe and yet has been seen by only a comparatively few Americans. It is the story of a wildcat strike in an English factory town, fomented by a Communist, and of one worker's fight against the union officials who sought a closed shop. Richard Attenborough and Pier Angeli are the stars. 1 hour, 30 minutes black and white, sound.

Cost: \$275 per print. Rental \$20.

The first of these, "... And Women Must Weep," deals with the same Indiana strike as the 1957 pamphlet, "Anatomy of a Wildcat." (See above) It led the International Association of Machinists to prepare a rebuttal film, reported on in the following Press Associates Inc. release of 10/8/62, reproduced from Labor:

The Machinists then produced their own film "Anatomy of a Lie," which painstakingly dissects the stark falsity of the anti-labor film, point by point, as follows:

- The anti-labor film depicted the president of the local as a bullying, shouting, ignorant man who violated the union contract and pushed the workers out on strike to protect his own job.

FACT: The actual president of the local was a lady—a warm, grandmother-type who pleaded with the workers not to strike for her, but only if the provocations for a strike made such action a necessity.

- The anti-labor film showed a small clique of 11 deciding to strike after being harangued by the president.

FACT: There was a meeting of some 400 workers at the Princeton armory and only nine voted against the strike.

- The anti-labor film gave the impression that outsiders took over the strike.

Other Distortions

FACT: The company hired strikebreakers from outside of Princeton and outside of Indiana.

- The inference is given that union "goons" shot a baby.

FACT: The sheriff and the father of the baby both agreed there was nothing to indicate that the shooting was in any way connected with the strike. The crime was never solved.

- The impression is given that the strikers were brutish men.

FACT: 80 per cent of the members of the union were women.

Other distortions are exposed by actual participants in the strike and other citizens of the community. But the National Right-to-Work Committee is continuing to circulate the film.

Radio Programs - In its 10/13/61 Newsletter and subsequently in the brochure reproduced on the following page, NRTWC announced a series of radio programs, "The Blessings of Liberty." The series is "made available to radio stations or sponsors without charge" and by the end of August, 1956 was being utilized by 11 stations in 10 states (Arizona, California, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Wyoming). Plans were reported "under way" to secure broadcasts in 8 more states (Colorado, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Montana, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio and Wisconsin). (Newsletter 8/31/62) In addition to the 13-week series, NRTWC has available a 30-minute "radio condensation" of their 1961 seminar in Chicago. (Ibid. 5/31/62)

National Council for Labor's Rank and File

As indicated previously, the general reorganization of NRTWC in the period 1959-61 included formation of a subsidiary group aimed specifically at employees — "the millions of coerced union members and the 50,000,000 unorganized employees." The leadership of the "National Council for Labor's Rank and File" is made up of the employee members of NRTWC's Board of Directors, with L. A. Hooser as Chairman and A. B. Gibson as Vice-Chairman. (The other 9 members of the Council would thus appear to be John Alabaugh, William Barry, Howard Brown, S. D. Cadwallader, Juanita Lamuel, Cecil Mitchell, Charles O'Brien, Oscar Romerill, and John Wynn.) In addition to enrollment of workers in the "right-to-work" movement, the Council publishes a newsletter every other month. Straight Talk is billed as a counter-force to the "one-sided reporting" of union publications, and employers are urged to arrange for its receipt—at their home address—by workers in their firms.

A 1962 brochure distributed by the Council states that "more than 20,000 employees are receiving Straight Talk." As an example of character and style of the bi-monthly newsletter, a recent issue front-paged an item headed "Communist Party Praises UAW /United Auto Workers/ Resolutions" implying that a number of resolutions on civil liberties issues gave the union some sort of relationship to "the world-wide Communist apparatus." The Council operates out of the same office as NRTWC and while no attempt is made by the Committee to disguise the fact that the Council is its creature, conversely, the material published by the Council does not always make clear that such a relationship exists. As a result, it is likely that most employees who receive Straight Talk as a result of their employers' requests, are completely unaware of the fact that it originates with the National Right to Work Committee. (Sources for above: NRTWC Newsletter 12/20/60, Straight Talk July-August, 1962 and Council pamphlet, "Workers for Freedom")

AT LAST!



AN EDUCATIONAL RADIO SERIES ON **RIGHT TO WORK**

13 13½-MINUTE PROGRAMS

DESIGNED FOR RADIO BROADCASTING IN YOUR COMMUNITY

The National Right to Work Committee

announces

An Educational Radio Series entitled:

"THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY"

13 13½-minute taped programs on Right to Work



"LAFE" HOOSER

In collaboration with experienced radio station management, professional writers and producers, the National Right to Work Committee has produced a powerful series of radio programs designed to educate the public on all the facts about the Right to Work principle and the political issue that has emerged out of the controversy surrounding it. The series has been produced for use as a sustaining feature, broadcast as a public service educational series, or commercially sponsored by local individuals, companies or groups.

In one of the 13 programs, Railroader Lafe Hooser, now a staff member of the National Right to Work Committee, tells the gripping facts of his experiences which led to the loss of his job and his means of livelihood for exercising his freedom. Other such documented "case histories" are dramatized.

Preview audiences have declared that after hearing the full series no American citizen could reasonably support compulsory unionism.

**ARRANGE NOW WITH THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR OR MANAGER OF YOUR LOCAL
RADIO STATION TO BROADCAST THIS HIGHLY EFFECTIVE SERIES.
A "PILOT" PROGRAM ON TAPE WILL BE MAILED UPON REQUEST.**

SERIES TITLE: THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY

SERIES CONTENT: 13 13½-minute taped radio programs, prepared with professional voices and professionally produced by Fotovox, Incorporated, with the following titles:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. THE POWER THAT CORRUPTS | 8. FREEDOM TO PAINT |
| 2. COMPULSION EXPOSED | 9. ARIZONA LIKES FREEDOM |
| 3. YOUR RIGHT AND MINE | 10. "LABORISM" VERSUS AMERICANISM |
| 4. THE POCKETBOOK BENEFITS | 11. INDIANA STORY |
| 5. THE NEWCASTLE STORY | 12. LABOR'S RANK AND FILE SPEAK |
| 6. THE FREEL RIDE | 13. A CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY |
| 7. WOMEN'S STAKE IN RIGHT TO WORK | |

NRTWC Operations: Direct Action

In mid-1961 NRTWC advised the National Better Business Bureau that it "is not registered at the present time under the Federal Lobbying Act" and also that it "does not, under any circumstances, attempt to directly influence State legislation." (8/23/61 report of National Better Business Bureau, Inc. inserted in Congressional Record 2/7/62)

In a pamphlet NRTWC describes its operations as follows: "The National Committee staff produces educational materials on Right to Work, maintains a Speakers Corps and a field organization which assists state organizations when invited to do so." ("The Right to Work Fact Sheet") Its reference manual states that the NRTWC was organized to: "1. Provide assistance to local people in organizing state-wide citizen movements to promote, enact and protect Right to Work laws in all states; 2. Spearhead the mobilization of nation-wide support for retention of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act . . . ; and 3. Conduct a national education program designed to bring about a better understanding of the Right To Work principle and the desirability, ultimately, of Federal Right To Work protection." (America's Choice)

Thus, while admitting that its goals involve legislative action at both the state and federal level, NRTWC claims that it is not a lobbying organization — at least not yet. It claims that "Each state organization is entirely independent" and that NRTWC itself need register under Federal law only when and if "active consideration of repeal of section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley begins." ("Fact Sheet" and Better Business Bureau report)

The Committee would appear to be relying on extremely narrow definitions in taking this position since its admitted activities extend at the state level to the initiation and organization of the so-called "independent" organizations, as well as their continuing supervision, and at the Federal level to such things as Congressional breakfasts and letters to Members and staff offering "our help whenever you want information about Right To Work." (4/19/61 letter to staff assistants in Congress)

The part played by NRTWC in the formation of state "right-to-work" organizations can be illustrated by examples from several states:

Oklahoma: Oklahomans for the Right to Work was incorporated in August, 1960. One of the incorporators was NRTWC Board member Walter O'Bannon and the man appointed as executive director of the group was Raymond Armstrong, who had been Reed Larson's assistant in Kansas for the Right to Work. (NRTWC Newsletter 8/25/60)

Maine: In Maine, the case is even clearer, with the local press reporting flatly that "a national representative of the National Right to Work Committee arrived in Augusta, set up an office in a motel, hired a typist and helped to form a state committee to work for passage of a "right-to-work"/bill" and with the head of the statewide committee admitting that "Reed Larson, director of the national committee, and his assistant, Bud Green, have been in Maine several times, most recently when the state committee was formed." (Portland Telegram 3/9/61 and 4/19/61) These activities led to a bi-partisan request by members of the legislature for an investigation to determine whether or not Larson and Green had violated the state's law requiring registration by lobbyists. (See Kennebec Journal 5/2/61)

Pennsylvania: In Pennsylvania the case is also clear. The Wall Street Journal of 4/19/61 reports that "Mr. Larson staged a sortie into the industrial state of Pennsylvania, meeting quietly with businessmen to launch a right-to-work campaign in that union stronghold."

Wyoming: In Wyoming as in Oklahoma, it is noteworthy that one of the founders of the state organization was an NRTWC Board member, State Farm Bureau President Herbert Livingston. (Newsletter 2/26/62)

Michigan: Even more recently, in July of this year NRTWC's State Activities Director, Charles Bailey, went to Flint, Michigan to address the Genesee County Conservative Club, whose President informed a newspaper reporter immediately thereafter: "A Michigan Right to Work Committee will be started in Genesee County and an attempt will be made to expand it throughout the state." (Ibid. 7/27/62)

Delaware: Finally, that direct lobbying itself may be included in NRTWC's activities is indicated by a 1959 news report from Wilmington, Delaware, which listed Larson and the Executive Secretary of a group called the Small Business Council as "lobbying for a right-to-work bill and having contacted nearly a dozen legislators and distributed copies of a proposed right-to-work bill." The report of lobbying was denied and it was contended that Larson "had come to Dover simply to look at our beautiful Legislature hall." (Wilmington Journal 9/28/59)

In any event, NRTWC makes no secret of the close and continuing cooperation with state right-to-work groups of the National Committee. Thus to use Maine as an example again, Glenn Green was reported in April, 1961 to be "standing by for a probable call to return to Maine, where the bitter legislative battle has prompted frequent missions to advise and encourage local right-to-work forces." (Wall Street Journal 4/19/61) Similar examples can be cited from myriad issues of NRTWC's Newsletter reporting

field work by NRTWC personnel assisting and advising local and state groups and individuals. (Cf 8/25/60, 3/16/61, 8/18/61, 9/22/61, 12/21/61, 1/31/62, 2/26/62, 3/16/62, 5/23/62, 7/27/62 and 10/31/62)

The recent battle in the aerospace industry furnishes a further example of NRTWC direct action tactics. When Douglas Aircraft agreed to an agency shop contract it was immediately challenged in the courts by a group set up by NRTWC: "As soon as the contract was announced, Cecil C. Mitchell, a Lockheed employee . . . who is also a director of the National Right to Work Committee, began organizing the Aerospace Workers for Freedom. . . . /L. A. Hooser and S. D. Cadwallader, president of the National Right to Work Committee, have taken rooms at the Pacific Sands Hotel . . . in order to be close to the scene of the agency shop fight." (Santa Monica Evening Outlook 8/21/62)

In Oklahoma the story was similar: "Non-union hourly employees at Tulsa's division of Douglas Aircraft Co. have formed a new organization to support an open shop at the facilities. . . . S. D. Cadwallader, Washington, president of the National Right to Work Committee, met with the Tulsa Douglas personnel and assured them of continued support from national organizations." (Tulsa World 9/13/62) This cooperation was to continue through the elections held at the recommendation of the Presidential fact-finding board on the issue of union shop contracts. (See NRTWC Newsletter 8/31/62, 9/29/62, 10/31/62 and 11/26/62) In short, direct action has become an increasingly important part of the open shop campaign of NRTWC.

Size and Finances

Membership and financial figures are scarce for the National Right to Work Committee. Membership is extended to both firms and individuals and there are two general classes of membership: business and professional, which accounts for nearly three-fourths of the total, and worker, which makes up the remainder. In April of 1961, NRTWC was claiming 18,000 total membership, "highest in the committee's six-year history." (Wall Street Journal 4/19/61) However, the report of the Better Business Bureau filed in August, 1961 listed only 15,000 (11,000 business and professional and 4,000 worker) and a recent NRTWC pamphlet gives the same total figure for 1962. ("Fact Sheet") A 1960 pamphlet indicates that membership has levelled off in recent years, since it claimed 14,000 at the end of 1959. ("Progress Memo 1959") The 1959 figure was said to be a 40% increase over the prior year, presumably indicating a 10,000 member level in 1958. A 1961 pamphlet claimed that NRTWC began with only 35 members in 1955.

NRTWC has a sliding scale for membership dues: "\$1 and up for individuals; \$25 to \$50 for small business firms; \$50 to \$100 for average-size concerns; and \$100 and up for large companies." (Report of Better Business Bureau, op. cit.) NRTWC claims that annual dues average "only \$28 from members in the business community. Only three or four dues payers are in the \$1,000-plus bracket and there's only one truly large contributor, Mr. Larson says. Members' names are never divulged." (Wall Street Journal 4/19/61)

While in 1961 it was reported that "actual figures /on income/ are secret" (Ibid.), they are available from a 1960 NRTWC pamphlet and the Better Business Bureau report for 1959 and 1960:

| | <u>1959</u> | <u>1960</u> |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Income | \$ 462,375 | \$ 425,256 |
| Disbursements | | |
| Educational materials | 396,729 | 237,716 |
| Meetings and travel expenses | 21,105 | 22,409 |
| Office and equipment | 16,436 | 14,355 |
| Salaries and payroll taxes | 103,457 | 106,902 |
| Other operating expenses | <u>31,684</u> | <u>16,081</u> |
| Total disbursements | \$ 479,412 | \$ 397,463 |

NRTWC's fund solicitation is handled by the public relations firm of Wilson E. Hamilton and Associates. As noted earlier, the head of this firm was a director of NRTWC prior to his retirement and now Theodore Hamilton handles the NRTWC account. Their contract provides the Hamilton firm "a fee of \$3,000 per month, plus a commission of 33 1/3 per cent of the net income on all membership dues and contributions received through their efforts. . . . The Committee also advised National Better Business Bureau that the total fundraising expense for 1960 . . . amounted to 42.2 per cent of income and that the comparable figure for the first 6 months of 1961 was 31.6 per cent." (Report of Better Business Bureau, op. cit.)

A standard technique which appears to be utilized in this costly campaign for contributions is the fund-raising letter from NRTWC to local businessmen with a follow-up in the form of a reminder from a fellow-businessman. (See, The Machinist 3/27/58 and 12/1/60 and AFL-CIO News 7/30/60) One of those who has urged fellow-businessmen to contribute to NRTWC is the textile manufacturer, Roger Milliken, who is an endorser of the John Birch Society and active in various other rightist groups. (Ibid. and 1962 JBS brochure)

At least until late 1961, NRTWC was advising contributors "that contributions to this organization may be classed as a business expense, but we can give no assurance that this will not be challenged by the Internal Revenue." (Better Business Bureau report, op. cit.) In December, 1961, in a case involving the Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Indianapolis, IRS ruled that contributions to "right-to-work" organizations do constitute lobbying expenses and thus are not deductible as a "business expense." Despite this, however, as recently as November, 1962, the Florida Right to Work Committee, Inc. was flatly referring to "Your tax deductible donation or membership fee" in a fund-raising letter to prospective contributors! (Letter of 11/12/62)

Ties to Other Groups: Employer

Because of their own importance on the open-shop scene, NRTWC's ties to three employer groups require mention: the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Farm Bureau Federation. Affiliates of these organizations cooperate closely with affiliates of NRTWC at the state and local level. In addition, some degree of overlap and interlock is readily apparent.

Chamber of Commerce's Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism - U. S. Chamber of Commerce participation in the open-shop movement dates back to the early 1920's. About three months after the formation of NRTWC, the Chamber, after hearing a speech on the subject by Fred Gurley, head of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, adopted a resolution supporting the campaign for "right-to-work" laws. (N. Y. Times 5/4/55 and 5/5/55) In September, 1961 it set up a Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism "to spearhead and stimulate a drive for an end to compulsory unionism wherever and in whatever form it may exist." (C of C release 9/18/61)

The Treasurer of the Chamber, Wofford B. Camp, a wealthy Bakersfield, California cotton, alfalfa and potato grower, was named to head the committee. Camp is a former director of the California Farm Bureau Federation. He is also a member of the Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government Society. (3/9/62 letterhead) Other members of the Committee on Voluntary Unionism are: (From 9/18/61 release)

Frank Ault (Orlando, Fla.) - roofing contractor; President of the Florida Right to Work Committee (NRTWC Newsletter 2/26/62)

Alpheus H. Borden (Elizabeth, N. J.) - head of Borden Metal Products Co., a "non-union employer" (AFL-CIO News 9/23/61); endorser, Manion Forum (4/2/62 list)

E. M. Brabant (Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Assistant to the President, Applied Power Industries, Inc.

C. Douglas Cairns (Burlington, Vt.) - President, Champlain Oil Co.; Chairman, Vermont Freedom of Association, Inc. (NRTWC News-letter 11/18/60)

Cully A. Cobb (Atlanta, Ga.) - editor, President, Ruralist Press, Inc.

Fred C. Edwards (Lancaster, Penna.) - General Manager for Industrial Relations, Armstrong Cork Co.

George T. Fox (Springfield, O.) - President, Reynolds Manufacturing Co.

Jonathan C. Gibson (Chicago, Ill.) - Vice-President and General Counsel, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway; author of The Challenge to Compulsory Union Membership, published by the Chamber of Commerce, and The Legal and Moral Basis of Right to Work Laws, published by NRTWC; participant in the NRTWC seminar in Kansas City, 1959 (N.Y. Times 6/9/59)

L. E. Haight (Boise, Idaho) - General Counsel, J. R. Simplot Co.

Robert V. Hansberger (Boise, Idaho) - President, Boise-Cascade Corp.; also Chairman, Fairway Products Corp. and Sportsman's Golf Corp., and Director, Idaho Power Co. and Voi-Shan Industries, Inc.

Parker Holt (Stockton, Calif.) - President, Holt Brothers, a farm equipment distributing firm.

J. E. Holtzinger (Altoona, Penna.) - President, Mirror Printing Co., Altoona Engraving Co. and Holtzinger Farms, Inc., and Director, Altoona Central Bank and Trust Co., Altoona Printing and Supply Co., and Columbia Savings and Loan Association.

Howard F. Jensen (Dallas, Tex.) - Vice-President and General Counsel, Lone Star Steel Co. (headed by NRTWC Director Eugene B. Germany)

John R. Jury (Wichita, Kansas) - Personnel Manager, Southwest Grease and Oil Co.; an admitted member of the John Birch Society (Washington Post 4/2/61)

William B. Prosser (Hagerstown, Ind.) - President, Perfect Circle Corp.

John Ben Shepperd (Odessa, Tex.) - former Attorney General of Texas, now lawyer for the Rodman-Neel oil interests; an endorser of the Manion Forum (4/2/62 listing)

Robert H. Spahn (Oklahoma City, Okla.) - Production Manager of Oklahoma Publishing Co. (headed by E. K. Gaylord, who has been in the open shop movement for decades — see Shott, op. cit., pp. 12-13 and 16-17 on his role in early 1942); member of the board of Oklahomans for Right-to-Work (AFL-CIO News 9/23/61)

Paul W. Stephanz (Burlington, N.C.) - a Senior Vice-President, Wachovia Bank and Trust Co.

Earl C. Swanson (Bayport, Minn.) - President, Andersen Corp., a manufacturer of wood window units.

William B. Sweetland (Klamath Falls, Ore.) - Publisher, Klamath Falls Herald and News.

Lloyd W. Taggert (Cody, Wyoming) - President, Taggert Construction Co.; President, Wyoming Citizens for Right to Work (NRTWC Newsletter 2/26/62).

In the fifteen months of its existence, the Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism, among other things, has published two booklets: The Right of the Right to Work and Why Distinguished Educators Favor Voluntary Unionism. The first is a collection of statements by "clergymen and church leaders" and the second by "educators" in support of the open shop principle. Among those whose contributions are included are:

Dr. James O. Baird (Oklahoma City, Okla.) - President of Oklahoma Christian College (the Chancellor of which is George S. Benson of Harding College, Searcy, Ark.); President, Oklahomans for Right to Work (NRTWC Newsletter 3/16/61)

Dr. L. Nelson Bell (Asheville, N.C.) - father-in-law of evangelist Billy Graham and Executive Editor of Christianity Today; speaker at 1960 NRTWC Board meeting (Ibid. 6/22/60)

Ezra Taft Benson (Salt Lake City, Utah) - former Secretary of Agriculture; now Chairman of We, The People! an important right-wing group in which Rev. Billy James Hargis plays a key role.

Philip D. Bradley (Washington, D. C.) - attorney, author of Involuntary Participation in Unions, published by American Enterprise Association in 1956.

Goetz A. Briefs (Washington, D. C.) - professor at Georgetown University, author of Unionism Reappraised, published by American Enterprise Association in 1960 with portions reprinted as a pamphlet by NRTWC.

Fr. John E. Coogan, S. J. (West Baden Springs, Ind.) - a member of NRTWC Board of Directors (see above).

V. Raymond Edman (Wheaton, Ill.) - President of Wheaton College; member National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/16/62 letterhead)

Fr. Ferdinand C. Falque (Staples, Minn.) - pastor of Sacred Heart Church; endorser of John Birch Society (1962 JBS brochure)

Rev. James W. Fifield, Jr. (Los Angeles, Calif.) - head of Spiritual Mobilization, Inc. and active right-wing figure.

Rev. Edward Greenfield (Buena Park, Calif.) - author of Anatomy of a Wildcat published by NRTWC (see above); speaker at 1959 NRTWC seminar in Kansas City (N. Y. Times 6/9/59)

Perry E. Gresham (Bethany, W. Va.) - President of Bethany College; Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education (1960-61 listing)

Carl F. Henry (Washington, D. C.) - Editor, Christianity Today and critic of "leftist thinking" in the National Council of Churches (Time 7/13/62).

Dr. Russell J. Humbert (Greencastle, Ind.) - member of NRTWC Board of Directors (see above).

Fr. Edward A. Keller (Notre Dame, Ind.) - former Director of NRTWC (see above).

Reginald D. Lang (Northfield, Minn.) - professor at Carleton College; member National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/16/62 letterhead)

L. McClure Lanning (Pittsburgh, Penna.) - headmaster of University School; Treasurer of Pennsylvania for the Right to Work (NRTWC News-letter 4/19/62)

Albert J. Lindsey (Tacoma, Wash.) - pastor, First Presbyterian Church; Director, Christian Freedom Foundation (Christian Economics 11/27/62)

N. Burnett Magruder (Louisville, Ky.) - Executive Director of Louisville Area Council of Churches; member John Birch Society (1961 JBS White Book)

Rev. Howard E. Mather (Amenia, N. Y.) - member NRTWC Executive Committee (see above).

Dr. Abner V. McCall (Waco, Texas) - President, Baylor University; former FBI agent; member Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government Society (3/9/62 letterhead)

Nicholas Nyaradi (Peoria, Ill.) - a Hungarian refugee, now a professor at Bradley University and frequent speaker at right-wing meetings.

Sylvester Petro (New York, N. Y.) - professor at New York University; member of State Committee of New York's Conservative Party (5/15/62 letterhead); author of several anti-union books, including The Kohler Strike: Union Violence and Administrative Law (Regnery, 1961)

Charles E. Rice (New York, N. Y.) - professor at Fordham University; member of State Committee of New York's Conservative Party (5/15/62 letterhead); sponsor of Fred Schwarz's Anti-Communism School and Rally in New York (N. Y. Times 6/27/62)

E. Merrill Root (Thompson, Conn.) - endorser of the John Birch Society (1962 JBS brochure) and active right-winger.

In short, nearly one-fourth of the members of the Chamber's Special Committee are connected with NRTWC, either at the national or the state level, and no less than 9 of the contributors to the Chamber's two booklets are likewise connected with NRTWC. The other right-wing ties speak for themselves in illustrating the overlap between the open shop movement and the general ultra-conservative forces of the country.

National Association of Manufacturers' Center for the Study of Union Power - It would be expected that the NAM would play an important role in the open shop campaign. It has done so at least since 1903 when it declared against "discrimination" on the basis of membership or non-membership in a labor organization. As was noted earlier, the NAM was an early user of the term "right-to-work." It is perhaps significant that the presidency of the NAM for two successive years early in the existence of the NRTWC was held by men who were later to be top officers in the John Birch Society (Cola G. Parker, NAM President in 1956, and Ernest Swigert, NAM President in 1957, both serving as members of the National Council of the John Birch Society) Both also were particularly outspoken on the open shop issue.

(Cf. N. Y. Times 1/20/56 and 4/9/57) A previous (1952) NAM President, William Grede, has also been both strongly anti-union shop and a Birch Society member. (see below)

At the state level, NAM affiliates have generally been in the forefront of the "right-to-work" fight. For example, Shott indicates the role played in Florida by the Associated Industries of Florida. (Op. cit., passim.) Similarly we find that a leader of the fight in Indiana, former State Senator Crawford Parker, is now a lobbyist for Associated Industries of Indiana.

Most recently, the NAM has organized a new Center for the Study of Union Power, headed by its own Vice-President in Charge of Industrial Relations, Charles A. Kothe. "The first meeting of this center was held on November 21, 1961," according to an NAM document inserted in the Congressional Record (10/10/62). Its establishment appears to represent a continuation of work started in 1956 with the organization by NAM of a Study Group on Monopoly Power Exercised by Labor Unions.

As noted earlier, this group was chaired by former NRTWC Board member Leo Wolman. (See above) Of the other 11 members of the "Study Group," two — William J. Grede of Milwaukee, Wisc. and Robert W. Stoddard of Worcester, Mass. — have since been members of the John Birch Society's Executive Committee (3/20/61 letterhead); two others — Stephen F. Dunn of Grand Rapids, Michigan and Thomas O. Moore of Winston-Salem, N. C. — are endorsers of the Manion Forum (4/2/62 listing); and a fifth — Lemuel R. Boulware of New York City — has been a major contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action, a Trustee of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and a sponsor of Young Americans for Freedom. (See reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives; Campus Reports, May, 1962; and New Guard, March, 1962)

Attending as members at the first meeting of the NAM's new Center were 15 lawyers, 6 professors, 4 employers, an industrial relations counselor, and the general counsels of the NAM and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Included were the following: (from Congressional Record 10/10/62)

Graham A. Barden - former Congressman from North Carolina and Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

Jim Clay - Legislative Assistant to Senator John Tower (R-Tex.)

Theodore R. Iserman - New York attorney who had served on the earlier NAM committee chaired by Prof. Wolman; author of Taft-Hartley law study published by American Enterprise Association.

Kenneth C. Kellar - Chairman of NRTWC's Executive Committee (see above).

John L. Kilcullen - Washington Attorney for NRTWC (see above).

William H. Peterson - professor at New York University; author of right-wing book on agriculture, The Great Farm Problem (Regnery, 1959); member of Nixon research staff in 1960 campaign.

Godfrey P. Schmidt - attorney and former court-appointed monitor of Teamsters Union; former President, Aware, Inc.; endorser, Manion Forum and member of the Committee for Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection (4/2/62 listing); organizing member of New York's Conservative Party (New Guard March, 1962 and N. Y. Times 5/15/62).

David McCord Wright - professor, McGill University; author of study of recovery in Britain and West Germany published by American Free Enterprise Association; member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/16/62 letterhead).

For further information on the plans and objectives of the NAM Center, see the text of the planning document for the Center inserted in the Congressional Record 10/10/62 by Congressman Libonati.

American Farm Bureau Federation - One of the most important national organizations on the open shop scene is clearly the American Farm Bureau Federation and its state and local affiliates. In Florida, the first state to pass a "right-to-work" law, the state Farm Bureau Federation is credited with securing the rural majorities that enacted the constitutional amendment. (See Shott, op. cit., passim., particularly pp. 25-30)

The State Farm Bureau units have continued to play a leading role in "right-to-work" campaigns and it is doubtful that such a campaign has operated in any state without the Farm Bureau unit of the state being an active participant. (Cf. N. Y. Times 12/3/55, NRTWC Newsletter March, 1956 and 5/28/60, and Chamber of Commerce pamphlet, "An American Farmer Discusses Freedom to Work") Three recently-formed state "right-to-work" units illustrate the pattern.

In Oklahoma, Farm Bureau leaders made up 11 of the 40 incorporators of Oklahomans for the Right to Work, Inc. and two of these were made trustees of the organization. (Oklahoma Farm Bureau Farmer 8/5/60) In Wyoming, the President of the state Farm Bureau was made Vice-President of Wyoming Citizens for Right to Work, the two groups have the same Vice-President and the Farm Bureau unit's Executive Secretary was made Secretary. (NRTWC Newsletter 2/26/62 and 7/27/62) In Maine it is also an executive secretary of the state Farm Bureau who appears as a top officer of Maine Citizens for Right to Work, Inc. (Ibid. 6/20/62) The participation by the top staff of the state Farm Bureau units may be regarded as particularly significant.

Cooperation at the national level is also to be noted. Official endorsement of the "right-to-work" principle by the American Farm Bureau Federation dates back to 1953 and extends not only to state legislation but to support for a national right-to-work law, also one of the long-run goals of the NRTWC. (various issues, AFBF Newsletter) This endorsement of the open shop principle continues to date. (See resolutions adopted at 1962 AFBF convention.)

AFBF President, Charles B. Shuman is one of those quoted and pictured in NRTWC's reference manual. Two top staff people from the AFBF, Secretary-Treasurer Roger Fleming and Assistant Legislative Director Matt Triggs, were featured speakers at NRTWC's "first National Right to Work Seminar" last year. (AFBF Newsletter 10/31/61 and NRTWC Newsletter 11/3/61) As noted previously, two of NRTWC's Directors are Farm Bureau presidents in their own states: Herbert Livingston of Wyoming and Louis Rozzoni of California.

In view of the key role played by the Farm Bureau in the open shop movement it is of particular interest that one of the recent developments has been the proposal to extend Kansas' "right-to-work" law to a farm group. President Louis E. Weiss, of Kansans for the Right to Work, who is also on NRTWC's Executive Committee, has stated that membership in the National Farm Organization, which had launched a campaign to raise livestock prices by having its members "hold back" their stock from market temporarily, involved farmers "in illegal maintenance of membership" under the state's "right-to-work" law. The implied threat of the Weiss statement has brought expressions of concern in other states, such as Indiana and Vermont. (Kansas City Star 9/25/62 and Labor 10/6/62)

Ties to other groups: right-wing political

Suspicion and distrust of labor unions, and particularly industrial unions, is a general characteristic of the right-wing in the United States. This attitude varies in its intensity up to and including the conviction that union leaders are, by definition, racketeers and/or liberal-Marxist-socialist-Communists. For example, while he denies that he is anti-union, Dr. Fred Schwarz, one of the most successful and well-known of the current anti-Communist crusaders, reflects such a point of view in the following statement in his book, You Can Trust the Communists: (p. 83)

The mechanism outlined by the Communists is still in operation. It is not completely out of date. Though it has not as yet fully succeeded in taking over a country, any person of intelligence has great reason for concern when workers can be compelled to join organizations, contribute their money, and obey the leadership imposed by a small group. When that money can

be used for political purposes by a constant propaganda campaign by press, radio and television so that the public may be influenced to elect legislators under obligation to the union leadership, the very foundation of republican, democratic government is in danger. When government becomes irreversible, dictatorship is at the door.

Ellsworth and Harris indulge, if anything, in understatement in listing ~~as~~ a general goal of the American right: "They desire to outlaw full employment in industry, collective bargaining, the closed shop, and political education for union members." (Ralph Ellsworth and Sarah Harris, The American Right Wing, Public Affairs Press, 1962, pp. 41-42; see also pp. 13-14 and note 38) This being the case, a listing of the right-wing groups and organizations which support the open shop campaign would approximate a complete census of ultra-conservative groups. What follows will be a relatively brief treatment of only those groups which have readily apparent, direct ties to the National Right to Work Committee and its affiliates.

John Birch Society - From NRTWC's first Chairman, Edwin Dillard, to its present Vice-President and Director of Information, Glenn Green, JBS members have always been prominent in the open shop movement in general and the NRTWC in particular. This is most evident at the state level — which is, after all, where support counts — and the pattern in Kansas is particularly significant since the leading figure in the National Committee, Reed Larson, is a "graduate" of the Kansas state organization.

A Washington Post reporter who studied operation of the John Birch Society in Wichita ("under open colors") wrote that "The leadership of the Birch Society overlaps heavily with the leadership of the organizations that successfully campaigned in 1958 for a right-to-work amendment to the State Constitution." (Washington Post 4/2/61) Two of these leaders, Coleman Company attorney Leonard Banowetz and box manufacturer Robert Love, were principal speakers at NRTWC's National Seminar in Chicago last year. (NRTWC Newsletter 11/3/61)

In terms of the interties with employer groups at the local level it is also significant that Banowetz, a JBS field coordinator (ADL Facts Nov. - Dec., 1961), is chairman of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce's Labor Relations Committee and Love, a member of the JBS National Council (1962 brochure), was for five years a Director of the National Association of Manufacturers. Others in the Wichita Birch Society who were active in the open shop fight in Kansas were Rock Island Oil and Refining Co. President Fred Koch, lawyers Kenneth Myers and Thomas Woods, and personnel executive John Jury who, as previously noted, is a member of the Chamber of Commerce's Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism. (See Washington Post, op. cit.)

Still another John Birch Society member who appeared on the platform at NRTWC's 1961 seminar was S. Rayburn Watkins, managing director of the NAM affiliate in Kentucky, Associated Industries of Kentucky. (NRTWC Newsletter 11/31/61 and JBS White Book, 1961)

Similarly, for the principal speaker at its 1960 Board meeting, NRTWC chose Congressman Wint Smith (R-Kansas), a 1961 endorser of the John Birch Society. (NRTWC Newsletter 6/22/60 and Congressional Record 3/16/61)

Previously mentioned have been the open shop-JBS-NAM ties represented by William Grede, Cola Parker, Ernest Swigert and Robert Stoddard (see above) and the appearance in the Chamber of Commerce's pro-open shop booklets of Fr. Falque, Dr. Magruder and Professor Root (see above). Other leaders of the ultra-right who have also been active in state "right-to-work" movements include F. Gano Chance of Missouri (a JBS Council member), James L. Doenges of Indiana (a JBS endorser), and Louis Ruthenberg of Indiana (a JBS Council member). Ruthenberg is also on the Board of Advisors of Maurice Franks' National Labor-Management Foundation. (Partners, July-August, 1962)

There are almost certainly other overlaps with the John Birch Society, especially at the level of state "right-to-work" campaigns, but the above cover known public identifications.

Other Right-Wing Groups - Illustrative of the NRTWC's relations with other conservative and rightist groups are the following examples:

1) American Enterprise Association: Organized in 1943 by a group of "industrial leaders" as a "nonpartisan research organization which examines the implications of current and prospective legislative proposals." States as its goal "to preserve the American principles of competitive enterprise and constitutional government." (1954 AEA brochure) Labor relations and unions are consistently a subject of AEA attention with a study in the field published at a rate of about one each year. Since 1955 these have included: Three Taft-Hartley Issues by Theodore Iserman, a member of the NAM Center for the Study of Union Power (see above); Involuntary Participation in Unions by Philip Bradley, a contributor to one of the Chamber of Commerce booklets on "right-to-work" (see above); Legal Immunities of Labor Unions by Roscoe Pound, who was formerly affiliated with the Committee of Endorsers and its successor group, the Citizen's Foreign Relations Committee (N. Y. Times 2/28/55 and letterhead of 2/11/57); Economic Analysis of Labor Union Power by Edward Chamberlin, which concludes that "union power should be restricted" (N. Y. Times 1/27/58); Labor Unions and the Concept of Public Service by Roscoe Pound; and Unionism Reappraised by Goetz Briefs. As noted above, NRTWC reprinted excerpts from the last in pamphlet form.

In addition to Iserman, four of the six "professor" members of the NAM's new Center for the Study of Union Power — Gottfried Haberler, James McKie, William Peterson and David McCord Wright — have all written at least one study for the American Enterprise Association.

2) Arkansas Free Enterprise Association: Reference to the role of this group in Arkansas has been noted (see above). The January, 1959 issue of its publication, The Free Enterpriser, carried an article by Reed Larson titled "Right to Work: How It Won in Kansas." (Note that NRTWC published a pamphlet by the same name.)

3) Christian Crusade: Rev. Billy James Hargis has expressed himself clearly on the open shop issue: "The question involved in 'Right to Work Laws' is very simple and basic. It is the question as to whether or not an American citizen has a right to work at a job upon which he and his employer agree without being forced to join a union and pay tribute to union bosses to whom he is morally opposed." (Communism and American Labor, p. 11) As noted previously, NRTWC Board member Frederick C. Fowler has been a featured member of the Hargis faculty on at least two occasions this year. In addition, Hargis's National Advisory Committee includes F. Gano Chance, Fred Koch and former Congressman Wint Smith, all mentioned earlier in connection with NRTWC's ties to the John Birch Society. Finally, Hargis himself told the press that NRTWC was one of the organizations represented at the meeting he called to set up the Anti-Communist Liaison - Committee of Correspondence. (Washington Post 3/22/62)

4) Christian Freedom Foundation: Howard Kershner's organization, which publishes Christian Economics, counts two current NRTWC Board members and one former Board member among its Directors. (Christian Economics 11/27/62 — see above) At least two more of Christian Freedom Foundation's Directors are affiliated with state right-to-work organizations: Rev. Vernelle Dyer of Maine Citizens for Right to Work, Inc. and Rev. William S. Wise of Pennsylvanians for the Right to Work. (Ibid. and NRTWC Newsletter 6/20/62 and 4/19/62) The names of these and others who have contributed to the Chamber of Commerce booklet, The Right of the Right to Work, have already been noted. Still another personnel footnote connecting the Christian Freedom Foundation and the open shop movement is the identification by Ralph Lord Roy of the Foundation's then-consulting economist, Percy L. Greaves, as a former personal researcher for Fred A. Hartley. (Roy, op. cit., p. 295) Finally, in addition to the indicated overlap, NRTWC personnel have been utilized in at least one Christian Freedom Foundation Conference. (Christian Economics 10/18/62)

5) Christianity Today: Note has already been taken of ties between Executive Editor L. Nelson Bell and NRTWC, as well as contribution of Editor

Carl Henry to Chamber of Commerce booklet. (See above)

- 6) Committee for Constitutional Government: A 1961 issue of CCG's Spotlight carried an article by Reed Larson urging support of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Earlier, the Committee had carried out a mass-distribution program for NRTWC Director Donald Richberg's book, Labor Union Monopoly. (Letter of 5/1/58) Spotlight has also distributed at least one article by Maurice Franks.
- 7) Council for Individual Freedom: This is the membership organization of the late Sherwood Ide's Independence Foundation, Portland, Indiana. The organization, which publishes a monthly right-wing newspaper, Dawn, utilizes Tyre Taylor of the Southern States Industrial Council as its Washington representative and has a general right-wing character, including opposition to the income tax. (See Dawn, various issues.) Former NRTWC President William T. Harrison was once listed as an Associate Editor of Dawn, later scheduled to become Executive Vice-President of the Council. (See above) Another of NRTWC's incorporators, Robert B. Byrnes, was reported by Dawn as the Council's "correspondent on labor relations affairs" in Washington. Finally, as noted previously, at least three former NRTWC directors were listed as members of the Council's Advisory Board. (See above and Dawn, 1961 Special Supplement)
- 8) Kent and Phoebe Courtney: The Courtneys, who publish The Independent American and run the Conservative Society of America, have featured NRTWC leadership at their national meeting in both 1959 (President William T. Harrison) and 1961 (Vice-President L. A. Hooser). At the 1959 meeting, Kent Courtney presided over a panel discussion made up of Harrison, J. C. Laney, Wells T. Lovett and Robert Love, all representing NRTWC. The tape recording ran to 2 hours in length and was offered for sale by The Independent American for \$14. (Indep. Amer. Nov., 1959, NRTWC Newsletter 3/16/61 and Wall Street Journal 4/19/61) David Molthrop, who has been extremely active in the open shop movement at the state level, has been a regular feature of Courtney meetings and other right-wing assemblies. He is also an active opponent of co-operatives.
- 9) DeMille Foundation for Political Freedom: Operations of this organization in "support of state right-to-work campaigns" have been referred to by NRTWC's former President Harrison in his book. (See above)
- 10) Heritage Foundation: In addition to publishing The Case for Right-to-Work Laws, by former NRTWC Board member Fr. Keller, Heritage Foundation in Chicago has published three pamphlets by Birch Society endorser Fr. Falque, one titled "The True Purpose of Right-to-Work Laws." The Heritage Foundation is now located in Independence Hall

of Chicago, the office building of Cook County Federal Savings, the President of which, Sidney L. DeLove, is author of The Quiet Betrayal, an attack on our schools as having "forced Americanism out of the classroom to make way for temporary trivialities" and having accepted "the pagan philosophy of an all-powerful State whose citizens . . . are mere chattels . . . "

11) Human Events: NRTWC Board member Fr. Coogan is a frequent contributor to Human Events, including a full-page article in their recent Special Issue on "The Labor Monopoly." The same Special Issue also includes a condensation of one chapter from the Jameson Campaigne book, Check-Off, referred to previously. Another NRTWC staff member who has written for Human Events is former Associate Counsel Warren Richardson. (Human Events 9/1/61) President Cadwallader and Executive Vice-President Larson of NRTWC were both "early registrants" for this year's Human Events Political Action Conference.

12) Labor Policy Association: Organized in 1957 to "make and to encourage researches and studies pertaining to government policies affecting labor and labor relations." Labor Policy Association is headed by William Ingles, who was previously associated with the Organization for the Repeal of Federal Income Taxes. The Labor Policy Association published (1958) Ingles' book, The Right-to-Work Handbook, which cites various NRTWC publications with approval. The Association has also published pamphlets by Sylvester Petro, mentioned previously. (See above on Chamber of Commerce Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism)

13) Manion Forum: While NRTWC and Manion Forum are to some extent "competitors" in the open shop movement — each seeking financial support to carry on the battle — they sometimes cooperate. NRTWC figures who have appeared on the Manion Forum broadcast include Donald R. Richberg (1957), Rev. Edward Greenfield (1958), Edwin S. Dillard (1959) and Reed Larson (1962). Other "right-to-work" figures who have appeared include former Senator William F. Knowland, former Indiana Governor Harold W. Handley, Wisconsin manufacturer Herbert Kohler and Fr. Ferdinand Falque. (1959 Manion Forum Brochure and NRTWC Newsletter 11/25/59 and 3/16/62) As indicated earlier, two NRTWC Directors — Edwin Dillard and Eugene Germany — are also endorsers of the Manion Forum.

14) National Labor-Management Foundation: As noted above, Maurice Franks is a former Director of NRTWC. In addition, eight other Directors or former Directors of NRTWC have been affiliated with the Franks organization, including former President William T. Harrison. (See above)

15) National Right-to-Work Federation: Organized in 1946 by a group which included Florida Attorney-General Tom Watson (see Shott, op. cit., and above) and Norman Zolezzi of Indianapolis, Indiana, editor and publisher since 1927 of a monthly called Labor Digest. After Watson's death, national headquarters of the Federation was moved to Indianapolis and Labor Digest became its official publication. After Norman Zolezzi's death in February, 1959, editorship of Labor Digest was taken over by the former Associate Editor, Allston Calhoun. In addition to the monthly newspaper, a radio program titled "Americanism Preferred" features Mr. Calhoun and is evidently carried primarily in southern states. Despite the close similarity in names there is no readily apparent connection between NRTWC and the Federation. However, a recent issue of Labor Digest does carry two items — one on the survey by Opinion Research Corp for NRTWC and one on the activities of Pennsylvanians for the right to Work — which are taken verbatim from the NRTWC Newsletter (but without credit). (Labor Digest February, 1959 and October, 1962; NRTWC Newsletter 7/27/62 and 8/29/62)

16) Young Americans for Freedom: In addition to former NRTWC Board member Fr. Keller, YAF, the Goldwater "student" group organized by William Buckley and Marvin Liebman, has on its National Advisory Board such "right-to-work" proponents as V. Raymond Edman, Herbert V. Kohler, Reginald Lang, and E. Merrill Root (all mentioned previously). It is also noteworthy that an article in YAF's magazine, New Guard, by its Managing Editor, Carol Bauman, utilized information provided by NRTWC. ("Compulsory Unionism: Threat to the Workingman" New Guard, May, 1962; see also NRTWC Newsletter 5/31/62)

A Final Note

The foregoing report should not be regarded as a comprehensive treatment of the "right-to-work" movement. It has focused primarily on the National Right to Work Committee and, important as NRTWC is, it does not constitute the whole story. This would require greater treatment of the open shop campaign in the individual states, investigation of which would almost certainly reveal further ties to NRTWC and to the right-wing in general. Unfortunately, aside from the Shott case study of Florida's "right-to-work" fight in the mid-1940's material on the election campaigns in the various states is not readily available. Similarly, as was emphasized, only those rightist groups and individuals with readily apparent connections with NRTWC and/or its affiliates have been mentioned. This ignores numerous others such as, for example, Tom Anderson, publisher of Farm and Ranch, frequent speaker before right-wing political groups and ardent foe of labor unions in general and the union shop in particular. Those involved directly in the battle over the "right-to-work" issue could doubtless add many other names.